## Message Text

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**ACTION EUR-12** 

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 SSO-00 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8956

INFO EC COLLECTIVE PRIORITY 76

AMEMBASSY ANKARA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY ATHENS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA PRIORITY

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E.O. 11652 GDS

TAGS: PFOR, EEC, NL

SUBJ: US/EC PRIESIDENTIAL DIALOGUE: POLITICAL DIRECTORS

MEETING SEPTEMBER 9-10

1. SUMMARY. LATE SEPTEMBER 13 POLITICAL DIRECTOR RUTTEN, WHO ALSO ATTENDED EC FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETINGS THIS PAST WEEKEND IN BEETSTERZWAAG, GAVE DCM BRIEFING BOTH ON POLITICAL DIRECTORS MEETINGS HERE IN THE HAGUE SEPTEMBER 9-10 AND SUCCEEDING MINISTERIAL MEETINGS SEPTEMBER 11-12 (SEPTEL). POLITICAL DIRECTORS COVERED QUESTIONS OF CYPRUS, AEGEAN, MIDDLE EAST INCLUDING LEBANESE SITUATION, INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM, SOUTHERN AFRICA (SEPTEL), ASIA, TAIWAN AND INTELSAT, EAST TIMOR, AND CSCE. MINISTERS DEALT WITH CHAPTER 2 OF TINDEMANS REPORT, PORTUGAL'S INTEREST IN EC, AND MORE BRIEFLY, AS MENTIONED IN PRESS RELEASE, SPAIN, TURKEY, GREECE AND LEBANON. FOREIGN MINISTER VAN DER STOEL WILL VISIT LISBON SEPTEMBER 18 FOR EXPLORATORY DISCUSSION WITH PORTUGUESE ABOUT THEIR INTEREST IN JOINING COMMUNITY. END SUMMARY.

2. TURNING FIRST TO DISCUSSIONS OF POLITICAL DIRECTORS, CONFIDENTIAL

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RUTTENSAID THERE WAS WIDE-RANGING DISCUSSION OF PROBLEM

OF CYPRUS. DIRECTORS WERE GRATIFIES BY SYG INITIATIVE BRINGING REPRESENTATIVES OF TWO COMMUNITIES ON ISLAND TO NEW YORK. THE DUTCH REPRESENTATIVE IN THE UN WOULD CALL ON SYG WALDHEIM ON BEHALF OF NINE TO CONGRATULATE HIM ON HIS INITIATIVE. EVEN THOUGH THERE WAS NO GUARANTEE OF SUCCESS. AND TO URGE HIM TO EXERCISE PATIENCE IN THE HOPE THAT TURK CYPRIOT COULD EVENTUALLY BE CONVINCED TO ENTER INTO MEANINGFUL DISCUSSIONS WITH HIS GREEK CYPRIOT COLLEAGUE. DUTCH AMBASSADOR IN NICOSIA WAS ALSO INSTRUCTED TO TALK TO BOTH REPRESENTATIVES ON BEHALF OF EC-9 BEFORE THEY DEPARTED FOR NEW YORK AND TO IMPRESS UPON THEM THE NEED AND THEIR OWN RESPONSIBILITY TO SEE THAT SOMETHING CONCRETE EVOLVES FROM SYG INITIATIVE. TO TURK CYPRIOT HE WOULD INDICATE THAT NEW YORK CONSULTATIONS MIGHT BE FIRST STEP TOWARD SETTING UP DESIRED SUBPOINT THAT THIS COULD OPEN WAY TO DISCUSSION GREEK CYPRIOTS WISHED, IN BOTH CASES EMPHA-SIZING NEED TO GO TO NEW YORK IN GOOD FAITH. GREEK, TURKISH AND US GOVERNMENTS WERE BEING INFORMED OF THIS EC-9 POSITION. RUTTEN OBSERVED THAT SO FAR ALL THESE ACTIONS WERE EXCLU-SIVELY PROCEDURAL, BUT EC-9 HOPED THEY MIGHT LEAD EVENTUALLY TO USEFUL SUBSTANTIVE STEPS.

- 3. ON AEGEAN THERE HAD BEEN DINNER DISCUSSION SEPT. 9,
  LARGELY IN TERMS OF EXCHANGE OF VIEWS. AS PREVIOUSLY REPORTED,
  RUTTEN REPEATED THAT BASIC QUESTION WAS WHETHER THERE WERE
  ANY AEGEAN RESOURCES AND, UNTIL THAT QUESTION COULD BE ANSWERED
  ONE WAY OR ANOTHER, SAW LITTLE PROSPECT OF AGREEMENT ON THE
  LIMITATION OF CONTINENTAL SHELF. SUBJECT TO DEVELOPMENTS IN
  ANY GREEK-TURKISH DISCUSSIONS, EC-9 INTENDED TO KEEP OPEN
  POSSIBILITY OF POSSIBLE FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE AND CONTRIBUTION
  OF TECHNICAL KNOW-HOW FOR AEGEAN EXPLORATION, WITH THOUGHT
  THAT SUCH AN APPROACH MIGHT PAVE THE WAY FOR EVENTUAL JOINT
  ENTERPRISE, POSSIBLY LAUNCHED WITH THIRD PARTY ASSISTANCE.
  RUTTEN UNDERSTOOD THAT GREEKS WERE NOW PREPARED TO SEE
  SUSPENSION OF ICJ ACTION FOR ABOUT THREE MONTHS, WHICH WHOULD
  PROVIDE BREATHING SPACE DURING WHICH OTHER EFFORTS TOWARD
  SOLUTION COULD GO FORWARD.
- 4. ON MIDDLE EAST RUTTEN SAID POLITICAL DIRECTORS CONCENTRATED ON DRAFT SECTION OF FOREIGN MINISTER VAN DER STOEL'S GENERAL DEBATE UNGA SPEECH SEPTEMBER 28. GENERAL AGREEMENT CONFIDENTIAL

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WAS REACHED ON DRAFT EXCEPT FOR FRENCH RESERVATION REGARDING FERERENCE TO PALESTINIANS. TEXT FOLLOWS PREDICTABLE LINES, INCLUDING STATEMENTS DEPLORING BLOODSHED IN LEBANON AND SUPPORT FOR CONCILIATORY ACTION TO BRING AN END TO CONFLICT, REITERATION OF SUPPORT FOR SC RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338 AND INDICATION OF WILLINGNESS OF E -9 TO ASSIST IN ULTIMATE SETTLEMENT, INCLUDING READINESS TO CONSIDER PARTICIPATION IN INTERNATIONAL GUARANTEES. UNDERSTANDABLY, REFERENCE TO PALESTINIANS WAS FOCUS OF DISCUS-

SION. LANGUAGE NOW BEING CIRCULATED FOR EC-9 APPROVAL IS "SOULUTION WILL ONLY BE POSSIBLE IF THE LEGITIMATE RIGHT OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE TO GIVE EFFECTIVE EXPRESSION TO ITS NATIONAL IDENTITY IS TRANSLATED INTO FACT." FRENCH HAVE NOT YET AGREED TO THIS FORMULATION, BUT RUTTEN BELIEVED THEY WOULD EVENTUALLY CONCUR, SINCE HE THOUGHT DIRECTORS' DISCUSSION HAD MADE CLEAR THERE WAS NO PROSPECT FOR ACCEPTANCE OF MORE FARREACHING LANGUAGE SUCH AS REFERENCE TO STATEHOOD OR TERRITORIAL BASIS FOR PALESTINIANS. IN THIS CONNECTION, HE OBSERVED THAT UK REPRESENTATIVE HAD TAKEN FIRM POSITION, WHICH DUTCH VERY MUCH APPRECIATED AND WHICH RUTTEN ATTRIBUTED TO US APPROACHES IN LONDON.

5. ON LEBANON RUTTEN INDICATED AGREEMENT HAD BEEN REACHED TO SEND PRESIDENT SARKIS CONGRATULATORY TELEGRAM ON

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SEPTEMBER 23 EXPRESSING HOPE FOR RESTORATION OF PEACE AND STABILITY AND WILLINGNESS OF NINE TO BE OF ASSISTANCE IF DESIRED. NATURALLY, RUTTEN ADDED, THIS WOULD DEPEND ON SARKIS BECOMING PRESIDENT, AND POLITICAL DIRECTORS HAD AGREED THAT IF THIS CAME ABOUT EC-9 ENDORSEMENT COULD HELP STABILIZE LEBANESE SITUATION.

6. POLITICAL DIRECTORS ALSO AGREED ON DRAFT SECTION FOR VAN DER STOEL'S GENERAL DEBATE SPEECH ON INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM. STATEMENT IS STRONG DENUNCIATION OF SUCH RESORT TO VIOLENCE AND CALL FOR EFFECTIVE INTERNATIONAL ACTION. VAN DER STOEL WILL ALSO REFER POSITIVELY TO GERMAN INITIATIVE. IN THIS CONNECTION, RUTTEN SAID FRENCH STILL WERE AGAINST ANY UN INITIATIVE ON GROUNDS IT WOULD BE FLOP THAT NON-ALIGNED WOULD KILL OFF, AND CONSEQUENTLY FRENCH HAD OPPOSED DIRECT EC-9 ENDORSEMENT OF GERMAN INITIATIVE. THIS WAS WHY VAN DER STOEL WOULD DO NO MORE THAN DRAW FAVORABLE ATTENTION TO GERMAN PROPOSAL. DUTCH HAD ALSO SOUGHT TO CLARIFY EUROPEAN POSITION ON TERRORISM WHERE FRENCH POSITION ON STRASBOURG KOCUMENT STILL REMAINED IN QUESTION. PROBLEM APPARENTLY WAS ATTRIBUTABLE TO FACT NEW FRENCY MINISTERS OF JUSTICE AND INTERIOR HAD NOT TAKEN ANY CONFIDENTIAL

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POSITION. DUTCH WOULD CONTINUE TO URGE IMPORTANCE OF CONCLUDING EUROPEAN ACTION.

- 7. ON ASIA, POLITICAL DIRECTORS HAD SPECULATED INCONCLUSIVELY ABOUT SITUATION IN PRC FOLLOWING MAO'S DEMISE AND HAD
  ALSO DISCUSSED PRESENT UNCERTAIN SITUATION PREVAILING IN NORTH
  KOREA APPARENTLY BECAUSE OF THE SERIOUS ILLNESS OF KIM IL SUNG.
  THEY ALSO DISCUSSED ISSUE OF TAIWAN'S CONTINUED ASSOCIATION WITH
  INTELSAT, CONCLUDING HOWEVER THAT ITS REPLACEMENT BY PRC
  WAS INEVITABLE SINCE LATTER NOW A MEMBER OF ITU, WHICH WAS
  PREREQUISITE FOR LINK WITH INTELSAT. IN ANY CASE, DUTCH UNDERSTOOD
  PEKING HAD NO OBJECTION TO CONTINUED ACCESS BY TAIWAN TO
  SATELLITE SYSTEM ALTHOUGH, OF COURSE, SOME FINANCIAL ARRANGEMENTS
  WOULD BE REQUIRED. POLITICAL DIRECTORS REACHED NO CONCLUSION
  ON POSITION EC-9 SHOULD TAKE ON EAST TIMOR IN UNGA, THOUGH THEY
  CONCLUDED THAT PRESENT SITUATION WAS PROBABLY BEST FROM STANDPOINT OF WESTERN INTERESTS.
- 9. POLITICAL DIRECTORS HAD LONG DISCUSSION OF CSCE PREPARATIONS FOR BELGRADE. PAPER WOULD BE DISTRIBUTED THROUGH NATO SYSTEM. AT BRITISH INITIATIVE, AGREEMENT WAS REACHED TO PUT PRESSURE ON SOVIETS TO BE MORE SPECIFIC ON EXCHANGE OF STATISTICAL INFORMATION PURSUANT TO HELSINKI DECLARATION, AND EC-9 AMBASSADORS IN MOSCOW WOULD BE CONSULTING WITH A VIEW TO MAKING SEPARATE DEMARCHES. RUTTEN CONTINUED THAT OCTOBER MEETING OF POLITICAL DIRECTORS WOULD CONCENTRATE ON BELGRADE PREPARATIONS AND VARIOUS PAPERS WOULD BE PREPARED FOR THIS PURPOSE. THEY WOULD INCLUDE PAPERS ON (A) INFORMATION COVERING RFE, RADIO LIBERTY AND DEUTCHE EWLLE TO BE PREPARED BY FRG; (B) MEDITERRANEAN BY ITALY; (C) CBMS BY BRITISH; AND (D) BREZHNEV PROPOSALS, EC-COMECON RELATIONS AND RECENT HUNGARIAN PROPOSALS BY BELGIANS.

10. POLITICAL DIRECTORS AGREED TO MEET IN NEW YORK ON SEPTEMBER
29 TO DEAL WITH UNGA MATTERS.
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